

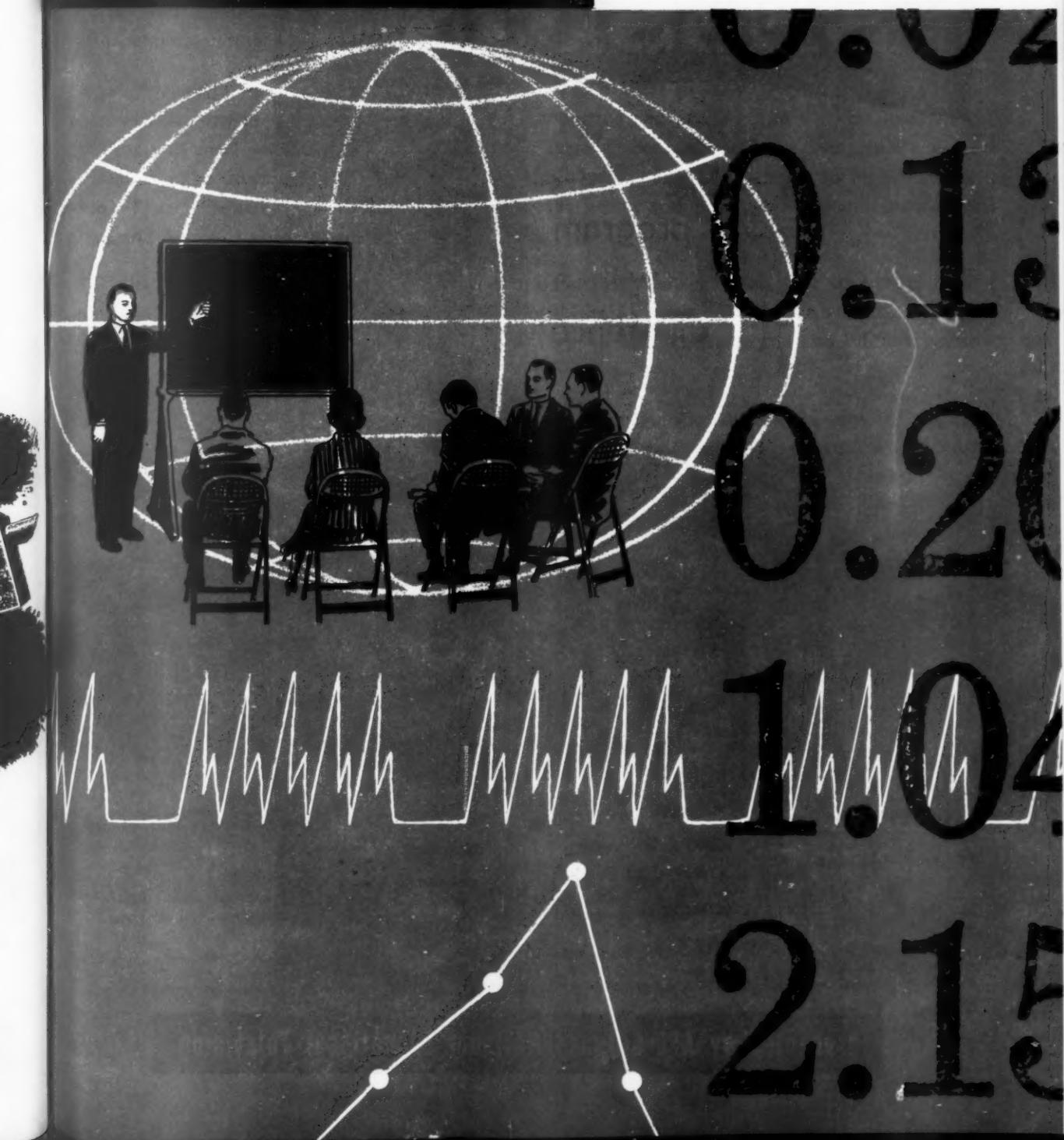
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JUNE 1961



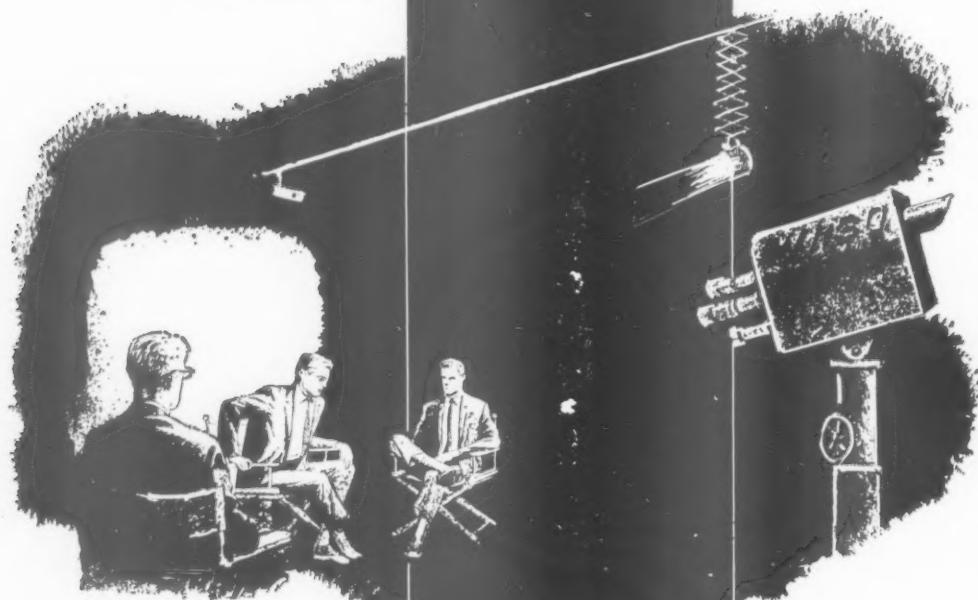
American Federationist

**Workers' Education
in a Complex Society**



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Education long has been cherished by this nation of immigrants and children of immigrants as the best means of realizing America's promise of equal opportunity for all. With a system of public education both free and compulsory, complemented by private schools, the individual and the nation have prospered.

Today, however, a fresh sense of urgency over the quality as well as quantity of education has arisen here and abroad. It may be inspired by the realization that, in the words of H. G. Wells, "human history becomes more and more a race between education and catastrophe." Or an understanding, simply, of the words of a Greek philosopher: "only the educated are free."

Whatever the reason, education is now of the highest priority. An article on Page 2 discusses the way in which organized labor has broadened and deepened its workers' education programs to meet modern needs. An article on Page 6 looks at the emergent junior college system and the promise it holds of eliminating the historic economic barriers to higher education. That the quest for education is as vital to the newly and nearly-independent peoples of Asia and Africa is shown in an article on Page 10.

Education may not take to some people or some people may not take to education, it occurred to one observer when he looked at the John Birch Society in action. An article on Page 12 examines this newest phenomenon on the far right of the political scene and offers possible explanations of this latter-day McCarthyism.

The remaining articles continue the education theme in the educational sense of ripping the facade from the "states' rights" arguments and in reducing the general ignorance which most people bring to their newspaper reading of the "work rules" controversy.

The American Federationist

Official Monthly Magazine of the American Federation of Labor
and Congress of Industrial Organizations

GEORGE MEANY, *Editor*

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The Changing Nature Of Trade Union Education

by Lawrence Rogin

This summer some fifty staff members of American unions will spend 10 weeks on the campuses of three American universities in an intensive study of the society in which American unionism functions.

The project is sponsored by the National Institute of Labor Education, an organization in which unions and university educators have joined for more effective cooperation. The campuses are those of the New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations at Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.; the University of California at Berkeley and Michigan State University, East Lansing. The sessions at MSU will be jointly sponsored with the University of Michigan and Wayne State University.

The students will come from a wide variety of unions in manufacturing, in construction and the metal trades, in retailing, in government employment. The instructors will be university faculty members with a concern for trade unionism. The program, developed in cooperation with a group of trade union educators, will concentrate on economics, American politics and government, sociology and social psychology and trade union history and philosophy.

There will be no effort to provide specific training in the skills of organizing, negotiating contracts or administering local unions. It is expected the 10-week experience will make it possible for the participants to approach all union tasks with greater competence and understanding.

This NILE resident training project combines three trends which have been growing in American trade union education: a concentration on the education of staff as well as local union leaders; a concentration on study in greater depth and a desire to provide understanding of basic social problems as well as

training in the fundamental skills of union activity.

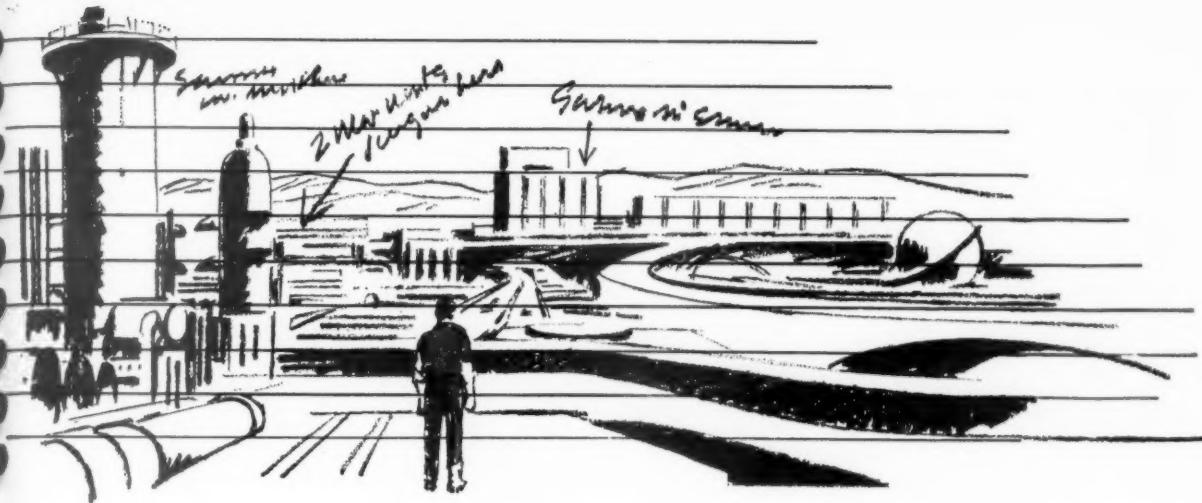
No single one of these is new. Many unions have been conducting staff training sessions, sometimes on specific subjects like arbitration or organizing, sometimes combining a number of topics. The industrial engineering institutes of the AFL-CIO Department of Research have brought together staff from a number of unions for special study, as have the training sessions conducted by the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department. For many years a number of unions have been sending staff to the Harvard University Trade Union Program, which provides 12 weeks of resident study, with a concentration on the practical aspects of union work.

Unions have always been concerned with social and political issues as part of their training programs. The "why" and "what" of political action have helped to buttress the "how." The study of economics is

This class in logic is an example of the broad range of workers education today.



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equally important for an understanding of collective bargaining and unemployment. It is only natural that as advanced training developed the study should be for longer periods and in greater depth. Experiments at the University of Chicago, the University of California in Los Angeles and elsewhere have demonstrated the willingness of unionists to give the time for more intensive study over longer periods.

At the same time it should be noted that an increasing number of unions are turning their attention to education. In most instances, the programs are broadened beyond the training in specific skills with which they usually start. This has been equally true of those programs which have started under the guidance of an international union education department and those which local unions have started on their own initiative. It has been true of those programs for which the union itself takes full responsibility and those in which it

turns to a university for help. It is true of classes in the summer schools and those conducted through the year in the home communities of the workers. The traditional six or eight-week course is now often becoming 10 or 16 weeks. While public speaking and grievance handling will always be popular course titles, the reports also include civil rights, health care and metropolitan area problems among the subjects being discussed.

A number of developments are responsible for these trends and it is worthwhile to look at some of them. Labor education has proved itself. We now have more than 25 years of experience since the start of the great growth of unionism in the early New Deal. This also has been a period of expansion of union education. Those who have participated in the classes and the conferences have brought something extra to their contribution to unions. Sometimes it has been extra loyalty and hard work, sometimes extra initiative and a willingness to accept responsibility. Usually it has been these combined with greater understanding of the problems of workers, the role of unions in solving them and some specific skills which were badly needed.

Both the participants in the programs and the responsible union executives have learned union education is not just something in itself, but it is valuable because it helps union members and leaders solve their problems. This is most easily seen when a new chairman learns how to conduct a meeting or a steward gains skills which he can put to use immediately in the shop. But courses like labor history or legislative issues also have had their impact in effective union action.

Union education having proved itself during a period of growth, it was only natural that as union problems increased it was hoped that education could help people work on them more effectively. When

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more grievances go to arbitration, it takes more intelligent effort to win.

When organizing is more difficult, the tools of the organizer need to be sharpened and new techniques need to be taught to meet new situations. How, for example, can the message of unionism be placed in the "status" framework which is said to appeal to white collar workers? What arguments must be made to overcome the now more sophisticated, yet still ruthless anti-unionism of today's employers? When there is an expansion of the use of industrial engineering, union staff must be prepared to meet it.

When labor legislation becomes more complex and more restrictive, it is important to know how to deal with the laws and the agencies which enforce them. When unions devote more time to politics, legislation and community activity, it is better to teach the techniques rather than learn them by trial and error.

When widespread unemployment and plant closings create problems for union staff to solve, new techniques must be learned to deal with them. The unemployed textile worker whose job has moved away from him and the unemployed metal worker who has been "automated" onto the scrap heap must understand that the solutions to their problems may well be beyond the abilities of their local unions or even their industries and see the importance of federal legislation in the solution of their job problems.

The solutions to many of these problems are not simple ones which can be learned in day-to-day experience or can be relayed by speeches in a conference. This has been one of the reasons for the longer courses, for increased study in depth. Effective labor political action requires knowing the practical day-to-day techniques, but it also requires knowing something of the structure of American politics and perhaps also something of how people make up their minds about political questions. The problems of automation and

shifts of industry cannot be resolved in contract clauses alone, nor can unemployment caused by shifts in foreign trade.

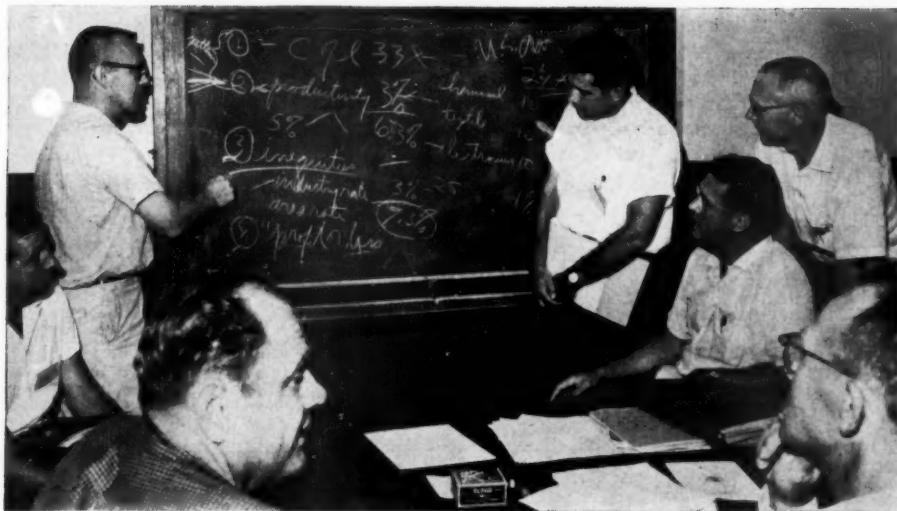
As the labor movement has broadened its legislative and social goals, there is the same need for understanding. A trade unionist concerned with a state tax program needs to supplement his personal experience, just as does a trade unionist concerned with the defense of the free world. Neither of these problems can be ignored. The problems of today are too complex and too much upon us. Collective bargaining alone will not solve them, no matter how strong the union.

Finally, there is a whole new generation of unionists rising to leadership in the local unions and becoming part of union staffs. One of the most exciting aspects of union education is the number of young people who participate, who are eager to make their contribution to the growth of the labor movement. Those of us who have been through the mill want the youngsters to understand the history and traditions of the union movement, to see why things are the way they are.

We feel that our experience in building the unions must somehow be transferred to those who enter activity after the harsher struggles are over, who have never worked without union protection. We hope to transfer to them the sense of dedication, the spirit of militancy and sacrifice which seemed characteristic of the early days of union growth and are badly needed now to solve today's complex problems.

The new leadership is equally concerned with this. But it wants also to test the traditional ways against today's problems. Techniques successful in organizing mass production workers during the New Deal or World War II may need to be changed if there is to be success with white collar workers and technicians who have never felt the same kind of exploitation.

While productivity may be a more obvious subject (right), the workings of the democratic process is as seriously studied (left).



Most of these newcomers to union leadership have been through high school. It is not unusual to find some who are college trained. They are more used to reading, to study and they see the value of study in dealing with their union problems. They are prepared to question accepted practices and think understanding will help in the solution of problems.

These, then, are some of the reasons we can expect a growth of union education, a concentration on staff training, a tendency toward longer courses, whether resident or non-resident and an expansion of labor education to a study of our whole society. These new interests and methods will be reflected in the more than 150 one-week union schools which will be conducted this summer from one end of the country to the other. Over the years these summer institutes have become, in a sense, the symbol of union education in this country.

Many more unionists, it is true, participate in the evening classes and in the one and two-day conferences and institutes conducted throughout the year from one end of the country to the other. But for students and educators alike the climax of the effort has been the intensive resident training session which takes the worker from his home for a week of concentrated study, discussion, exchange of ideas and relaxation.

Between 7,500 and 10,000 trade unionists will attend the sessions this year. Most of them will be conducted on university campuses in cooperation with university labor extension programs. But there will be some in union-owned institutions like the Michigan AFL-CIO camp at Port Huron or the United Auto Workers' camp at Ottawa, Ill. Others will be in hotels, private camps, YMCA grounds, wherever trade unionists are welcome.

Because living together is such an important part of the week's activity, special praise is due to

those AFL-CIO affiliates, international unions and central bodies who have insisted that their training sessions in the South be held in facilities where all union members can attend without discrimination. School integration may be new to some southern trade unionists, but the pattern for it was set long before the 1954 Supreme Court decision.

As one would expect from the structure of the American labor movement, the bulk of these one-week sessions will be sponsored by national and international unions or their regions. But the state AFL-CIO organizations are on the job as well and in two sections of the country, the South and the Rocky Mountain area, regional schools are held, jointly sponsored by the state organizations. One specialized school, in time study and job evaluation, is sponsored by the AFL-CIO Department of Research.

Advanced schools will be held for those who have had previous training or are in more responsible positions. In some cases, this will involve the sharpening of skills or the concentration for the entire week on one special topic, like time study, journalism, union administration, community services. Elsewhere, the time will be spent in broadening understanding of economics and politics and on the problems of the total labor movement as well as the individual union. And in some cases the effort will be to broaden the individual, with attention to what the educators call the "humanities"—philosophy, literature and the arts.

The pattern is varied, even within the same union, as the union educators seek to respond to the needs of the students within the framework of the specific problems of the unions from which they come. But in every instance there will be the same desire to make education an effective tool of American unionism by making trade unionists better able to cope with the problems which face them.

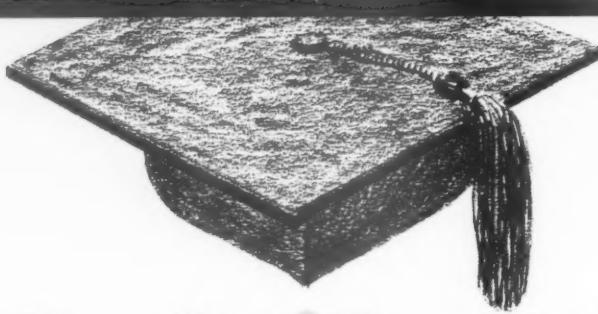
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The Junior College: New Gateway to Higher Education

by John Van Camp

In the current debate on the subject of "education" there has been a relative lack of attention paid to one area of increasing importance—the American junior college.

There are, of course, localities and even states where the question of establishing or extending junior colleges is as live as an eight-pound catfish on a four-pound line. But in general the place of the junior college in this country's scheme of education has received less public attention than either its accomplishments or its perplexities merit.

A leading authority in the field, Dr. Leland L. Medsker of the University of California at Berkeley, says: "Despite the growth and development of this institution today, one of its most serious problems is the lack of public understanding about it." Dr. Medsker also calls the junior college an "in-between institution"—and undoubtedly this in-betweenness

helps explain one of the difficulties in coming to grips with the junior college problem.

For better or worse, the words "high school" or "college" or "university" conjure up a sharp picture of an "institution." Establish a college at the North Pole and the chances are most of the speeches at the dedication would refer to "ivy-covered walls."

But the junior college presents no such sharp institutional image—its walls are still waiting for the ivy to arrive. There are at least two good reasons:

. . . Across the country, there is a wide variety in the functions performed and the programs offered by two-year institutions—all called junior colleges.

. . . The junior college movement itself is in a state of ferment. The serious literature in the field dwells almost entirely on the direction junior colleges must take. All live institutions have a problem that can be summed up in the one word—"whither." But the junior college movement at present seems to have an acute case of "whitherness."

To again quote Dr. Medsker—because his is the

JOHN VAN CAMP has covered Washington affairs and has written on a wide variety of national problems.

most recent nationwide junior college study: "Though it would seem that the attention paid the junior college in recent years would indicate that it has fully achieved an identity of its own, many debatable issues still exist.

"For example, is public education through the fourteenth grade the birthright of every American child? Is the public junior college an extended secondary school, or is it part of higher education?

"Should junior colleges be fully state-supported, fully locally supported, or jointly supported? Should they be autonomous units responsible to either local or state boards of control, or should they be organized as extension centers or branches of a parent college or university? Are local junior colleges best controlled through unified districts or through separate junior college districts?

Of course, the junior college movement is a newcomer on the educational scene. A strictly native product, it had its origins about 60 years ago in the thinking of a group of university presidents, the most important of whom—to the junior colleges—was Dr. William Rainey Harper, first president of the University of Chicago. It was his leadership that led to the establishment in 1901 of the first junior college at Joliet, Illinois.

It also was Dr. Harper who came up with the institutional title—"junior college"—an identification that increasingly has been giving way to the term "community college." This is not only because of the somewhat minor-key emphasis in the word "junior" but also because the mission of the two-year college has drastically changed since 1901.

Dr. Harper and his associates advocated what they called the "bifurcated university" and it was their hope and plan that the freshman and sophomore years of college would be turned over to the secondary schools and that the universities would accept entering students at the junior-year level. As the quickest glance at the American education scene shows, this "bifurcation" was never achieved, although one of the many roles of the junior college continues to be that of a feeder of students entering four-year institutions at the third-year level.

But Harper's was a "private" concept in the sense it implied a relationship existing only between the junior college and the four-year colleges and universities. Over the years the emphasis shifted to a "public" concept. The junior colleges more and more became institutions which equalized educational opportunity beyond the secondary school level for all interested persons in a community.

This equalization was achieved by low or non-existent tuition, the wide-open admissions policy and the development of programs based on community needs or desires rather than on the admissions requirements of the four-year institutions in the area.

Starting from the single school at Joliet, there now are 677 junior colleges with an enrollment of nearly 1 million, according to the official count of the American Association of Junior Colleges. Of the 677 junior colleges, 400 are public and 277 private, but the public junior colleges account for 90 percent of the total enrollment.

In the next ten years the number of students attending junior colleges is expected to reach at least 2 million. That, of course, means a rapid expansion in the number of schools themselves. At present, one student in every four begins his higher education in a junior college and the predictions are it will be one in every two by 1975.

While this underscores the social and economic importance of the junior college—the equalization of opportunities for higher education that otherwise would be denied thousands of high school graduates because of the increasingly high cost of the traditional four-year college or university—it is a somewhat fragile statistic. For it by no means implies that in 1975 one out of every two college graduates will start in a junior college. It means rather that one out of every two students getting some higher education will get it in a junior college. The number passing on to a four-year institution is something else again.

The steeply rising cost of attending a traditional four-year college and the greater selectivity be-

This table, based on 1950 census figures, shows how college opportunity is related to social and economic levels. The better advantaged a child, the more likely he is to expect college, to be equipped for it and to afford it (columns 1, 3). Once in, ability to finish is more equal (column 2).

Education Based on Father's Occupation*

Father's Occupation	High School Graduates Entering College	Of College Entrants Percentage Graduating College	Of U.S. High School Graduates Percentage Graduating College
Professional & Semi-Prof.	67%	60%	40%
Managerial	50	55	28
White-Collar	48	57	27
Factory, Craftsmen, Unskilled, etc.	26	58	15
Farmer	24	44	11

*Source: "America's Resources of Specialized Talent" by Dael Wolfe, Harper & Bros., New York, 1954, p. 160.

Comparison of 4 Colleges by Occupation of Student's Father*

College	Upper White-collar	Lower White-collar	Upper Blue-collar	Lower Blue-collar	No. of Cases = 100%
Stanford University	87%	7%	6%	0%	55
U. of California	69	14	11	6	52
San Jose State College	38	17	29	16	147
San Jose Junior College	23	15	45	17	95
City of San Jose (employed males 1950 census)	26	17	38	19	23,699

*Source: "The Open Door College: A Case Study," Burton R. Clark, Center for the Study of Higher Education, U. of California, Berkeley; McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1960, p. 54.

cause of the increasing number of applicants have had a major impact on the expansion of junior colleges.

The greatest area for expansion, interestingly enough, is now east of the Mississippi. Because of the private school tradition on the east coast, the public junior college movement originally went furthest and fastest in the west and today California leads the nation with 71 junior colleges. In contrast, it was not until 1950 that New York established its first public junior college.

Because it is catching up, the great expansion in the junior college movement is now in the east. In New Jersey, for example, there is a drive on for a junior college in each of the state's 21 counties. Florida has been an east coast leader in establishing junior colleges as an integral part of the local public school systems. That state's Community College Council had by 1959 designated 31 areas in potential need of a junior college—and by that date sixteen already were in operation and six more authorized.

In general, the newly-established junior colleges have been "community colleges." The aim has been to locate them so as to be within commuting distance of more than 90 percent of the potential student body. Furthermore, the programs established have been "comprehensive"—by which junior college administrators mean courses and activities ranging from evening adult education to regular freshman and sophomore college work.

Here again it is pertinent to quote Dr. Medsker, who has this to say under the heading "The Problem:"

"The two-year college was designed to play a special and a strategic role in American higher education. This it does in a variety of ways. It is perhaps the most effective democratizing agent in higher education. It decentralizes post-high school opportunities by placing them within reach of a large number of students. It makes higher education available at low cost to the student and at moderate cost to society. It offers a wide range of educational programs not found in other colleges.

"The junior college plays a special role, too, as a distributing agency. It offers a constructive way for many students to terminate formal education, and it is a means of identifying students capable of more advanced training.

"Once the secondary school discharged this function but as the social and economic conditions made more formal schooling desirable, either simply as a maturing experience or as a means of better civic and vocational education, it was inevitable that, for many students, these functions should be performed by an extension of common schooling.

"Furthermore, the American technological economy requires many persons trained at an intermediate level—not full-fledged engineers or scientists but high-level technicians or semi-professionals. This has necessitated the upgrading of industrial personnel either by more advanced technical, scientific, and managerial training or by advanced general education.

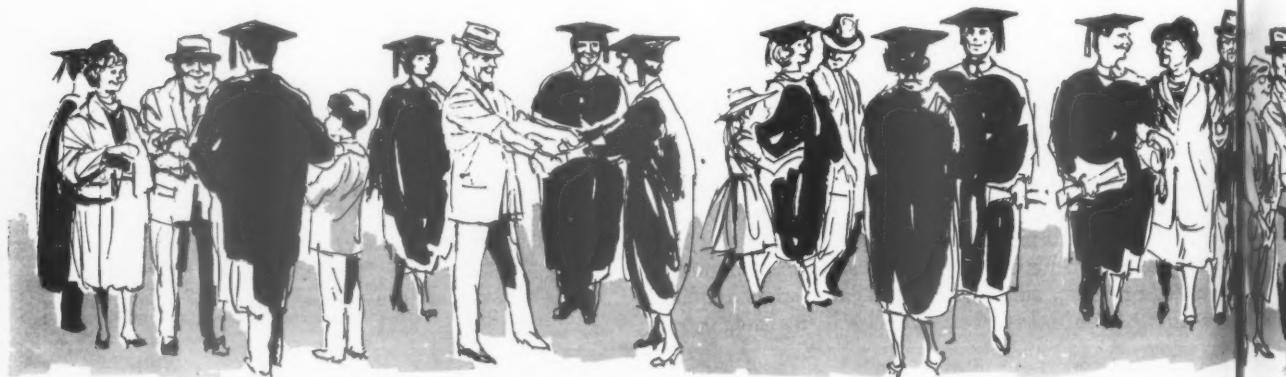
"No unit of American higher education is expected to serve such a diversity of purposes, to provide such a variety of educational instruments, or to distribute students among so many types of educational programs as the junior college."

To delve a bit more into "the problem" it is necessary to recognize two terms used constantly in any discussion of junior colleges. They are: "terminal student" and "transfer student." The terminal student is one entering a junior college for no more than the college's two years. He is not expected to go on to a "senior" institution and his studies are expected to be of "practical" or occupational nature. The transfer student is one who expects, or perhaps just hopes, to go on to the traditional four-year college or university.

The transfer student must, on numbers alone, tend to dominate the programs of many junior colleges. A recent survey indicated two-thirds of the full-time students entering junior college elected the "transfer" program. One reason is this is the prestige program, as is the "college preparatory" course in high school.

Actually, only about one-third of the students entering junior college go on to a senior institution so that, to swing the figures around, two-thirds of those entering can be expected to finish their formal higher education at the junior college level, despite the preponderant number entering as "transfers."

Involved in this, of course, is the question of what might be called "transfer potential." A California



study indicated that only 11.4 percent of the graduates of California high schools in 1955 were eligible to enter the University of California and that 56.4 percent did not meet the entrance requirements of either the university or the state colleges.

Late last year 34 representatives of industry, government and education met to discuss the future role of the junior college. They paid especial attention to the newer concept of the community college, with its comprehensive program for transfer and terminal students, for adult education and for general community service such as special lecture series and the like.

In its report this group emphasized the need for training tied to future occupations rather than the four-year college. One of its conclusions was: "There should be no question concerning the responsibility on the part of the two-year college to prepare technicians. . . . Since technicians perform complex tasks, they must have the understanding and ability to apply technical knowledge in support of professional people such as engineers and scientists. In general, occupational education is being upgraded. . . .

"Those responsible for two-year colleges must study continuously the occupational requirements of society with emphasis on the local community situation. Rapid advances in technology and automation have important applications for new technical and professional jobs. . . ."

An example of the attention paid to this phase of the junior college program is seen in a study being made in California by the Pasadena-San Gabriel (Junior College) Valley Area. One facet of the study was a survey of vocational-technical needs—in common terms, the technical occupations—in the Pasadena-San Gabriel area.

This is in line with a general goal of meeting the demand for particular subjects in any community—and it also reflects the intense concern for expanding the teaching of mathematics and scientific subjects.

Trade unions have an obvious interest in these developments from the standpoint of ensuring that the vital practical experience developed through tested apprenticeship systems is appreciated in reaching a balance with the new academic approach.

There is considerable discussion in the junior college literature about the impact of automation on the skills required of future workers and certainly this is one aspect of junior college education in which the trade union movement has a prime interest. Dr. Charles C. Killingsworth of Michigan State University is one who has cast doubt on the assumption that automation will require massive upgrading of the labor force directly affected.

What with "terminal" and "transfer" programs, with the need to be responsive to community needs and demands, with the tugs and hauls between so-called general and technological education and, overall, with the lack of identification as an "in-between" in the educational structure, it is no wonder the public has, relatively speaking, remained unaware of the problems of the junior college.

But the increasing numbers of communities now studying the feasibility of establishing a junior or community college in their midst indicates the junior college is on its way toward general recognition.

And that general recognition would appear to be based on the proposition that the high school should not be the formal end of education for thousands of students who cannot, for one reason or another, contemplate going on to college.

In this sense, it is genuinely a "progressive" movement. Practically speaking, one of the great achievements of the junior college is encompassed in the junior college administrator's favorite word—"motivation."

Dr. Edmund J. Gleazer, Jr., executive director of the American Association of Junior Colleges, cites the case of the Chipola Junior College in Jackson County, Florida. He says:

"At the time the junior college was established in 1947 only 7 percent of the high school graduates in that county enrolled in college. In 1959, 12 years later, 52 percent of the high school graduates began college careers. About 7 percent attended institutions outside the county. The rest enrolled at Chipola Junior College.

"It is quite clear that a high percentage would not have begun college work at all if it had not been for the existence of the junior college. This story is being repeated throughout the country where similar opportunities are available."



Afro-Asian School Teaches Progress Under Democracy

by Eliabu Elath

The first 70 students from 24 countries of Africa and Asia have just completed their course at the Afro-Asian Institute for Labor Studies and Cooperation in Israel.

The institute was founded by Histadrut, Israel's General Federation of Labor. The AFL-CIO made available scholarships for half the student body and AFL-CIO President George Meany became a co-chairman, together with the author of this article.

The students came from Gabon, Upper Volta, Ivory Coast, Togo, Malagache, Mali, Senegal, Chad, Congo (formerly French), Uganda, Ethiopia, Ghana, Liberia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Kenya, Gambia, Northern Rhodesia, Dahomey in Africa and Burma, India, The Philippines, Japan and Nepal in Asia.

Though the institute was thrown open to both sexes, during the first course it had only male students. Admission to the institute requires a certificate from a high school or its equivalent; or active service and experience in the fields of trade unionism and cooperation; or that applicants be government officials dealing with such matters.

The students reside at the institute and are provided with free tuition, board and lodging. A permanent home for the institute is now being erected and it is hoped the next course will be held there.

Roughly half the students in the first session being English-speaking and half French-speaking, the studies were conducted in two separate sections, each with its own staff of lecturers and tutors. All publications of the institute were put out in both languages.

The curriculum of the first course included sociology of cooperation, sociology of trade unions, labor economics, economics of development, social insurance and industrialization. Special emphasis was

placed on the role which labor and trade unions play in the building of a modern society in newly created states, based on democratic principles of social justice and respect for the freedom of the individual and the working man.

The course lasted six months. It provided for theoretical and practical studies. Mornings were normally devoted to lectures by professors of the Universities of Jerusalem and Tel Aviv and by persons with knowledge and personal experience in the various subjects. They were assisted by tutors whose main function was to help the individual student to digest the theoretical part of the studies and to aid them in personal matters.

The practical side of the studies concentrated on bringing the student into direct contact with different organizations and institutions in Israel in the fields of trade unionism and cooperation. One day each week was set aside for a visit by those students specializing in cooperation to cooperative establishments in Histadrut. Those studying trade unionism visited the branch of Histadrut dealing with matters related to the particular subject. Those taking up agricultural cooperation visited some of the cooperative settlements, especially those which have been newly established. They were all brought into contact with the life of the country, spending some time in the kibbutzim and moshavim, thus learning at first-hand how such group living is organized and functions.

The institute also arranged programs for the students during their off-hours. These included different forms of entertainment such as visits to theatres, concerts, sports events and exhibitions. Students also were frequently invited to private homes where they received a glimpse of how Israelis live. It is gratifying to note that the people of Israel gave them a most cordial welcome.

As originally intended, a permanent feature of the course was a symposium in which the students of the different countries took part. They described conditions in their own countries and compared them with

Young Asian and African leaders seeking the techniques of progress in Israel learn much from each other as well.



ELIAHU ELATH is co-chairman, Board of Governors, Afro-Asian Institute for Labor Studies and Cooperation in Israel.

Israel, contrasting them also with each other's countries and estimating how the knowledge and experience gained in Israel could best be applied to their own conditions.

Although students came from so many different countries with diverse culture, habits and backgrounds, this was not a serious obstacle to creating an *esprit de corps* and making them a united group with a common purpose of acquisition of knowledge and turning that knowledge to good use at home.

One can assume that a good number of the students will in one way or another take an interest in the social and political life of their newly created states outside the field of their normal occupations and that the contribution made to their knowledge and general outlook by the institute will be of considerable value to the building of a progressive and democratic society in their countries.

The institute has been in existence too short a time to attempt to summarize its activities or draw any conclusions. But experience both in recruiting students and the results thus far achieved have demonstrated the important role the institute can play in contributing to the social, economic and cultural progress of the newly created states in Africa and to those states in Asia where the labor movements are playing an increasingly important role.

Israel, which has been active in the last few years in developing close ties of cooperation with the new states of Africa, is particularly fortunate in being able as a newly created state herself to serve as a kind of testing ground and an example. Israeli statehood was born of the pioneering spirit which helped overcome many obstacles and difficulties by accelerating development which normally would take much longer. It was founded on the recognition of the important and honorable role which the working man plays in the life of a country where physical labor is as respected as any other form of endeavor and where statehood is not an end in itself but a framework for social progress and economic wellbeing of all concerned.

And finally, it was based on the realization that planning of economic and social development does not necessarily require a particular form of government to do this at the expense of the freedom of the individual or by the suppression of human rights, but on the contrary can better be achieved where the public interest and the liberties and rights of the individual are combined in a common effort within a genuinely democratic state.

While it will be impossible to evaluate the results of these endeavors before knowing what place the graduates will take in the life of other countries upon their return, it can be said even at this stage—as judged by the views expressed by the graduates themselves before leaving Israel upon the conclusion of their studies—that the lessons learned here and the challenging example of Israel's achievements will not be lost when they return home.

There is still a serious gap in the work of the institute. The teachers and tutors should have a more intimate knowledge of the cultures and backgrounds of their students. They should be given a chance to spend some time in those countries to gain the necessary experience. This remains one of the preoccupations of the institute to which it seeks a solution.

The institute is now preparing for the second course. The main subject this time will be trade unionism, with cooperation as a secondary subject. This has been decided on in response to the suggestions of some of the countries the students come from in view of the growing demand for trained trade union leaders in the newly created states with programs of social development.

The institute keeps in close touch with the trade union and labor organizations in Asian and African countries and it intends to invite for the coming courses lecturers from those countries who can make an important contribution in bringing Israel and their countries closer together and in strengthening further the existing ties between the institute and those organizations.

Mrs. Golda Meir, Israel's Minister for Foreign Affairs, congratulates a graduate. She is flanked by Eliahu Elath (left) and Institute Director Moshe A. Gilboa (center).

Students from Nepal and Ivory Coast exchange experiences.



John Birchers on the March— The Politics of Fear

by Robert B. Cooney



The income tax can be repealed!—Get the U.S. out of the UN and the UN out of the U.S.—Impeach Chief Justice Earl Warren?

Of the thunder which has been sounding from the right in recent years, these appeals have been the most extreme. The moderate right was more likely to be found among the 3,200 people who jammed New York City's Manhattan Center in March and chanted "We want Barry! We want Barry!" Senator Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) told that first rally of the new Young Americans for Freedom that the nation "is being caught up in a wave of conservatism."

All the while the conservatives were liking Goldwater, a short and unobtrusive ex-businessman named Robert H. W. Welch, Jr., had been busy organizing. The operations of Welch's semi-secret John Birch Society have stirred communities across the land. Welch's reported view that former President Eisenhower, Milton Eisenhower, the late John Foster Dulles and now President Kennedy were Communists or dupes of Communists has provoked a reaction which has thrust the Birchites into the limelight.

Liberals and conservatives of both parties have been reacting in a unison which might bring a fresh appreciation of the rules which should govern healthy debate in a democratic society. But the appeal of Welch and his methods again raises the question of what gives rise to such movements on the American scene and why the John Birch Society has found such a wide response at this time.

There is, Walter Lippmann wrote long ago, "the world outside" and there are "the pictures in our heads." Man behaves, he argued, not according to the world as it really is but to the world as he thinks it is. Thus, a man's understanding and actions will be rational and effective to the extent the world in his head corresponds to the real world outside.

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But "the world outside" has been changing rapidly and dramatically. Within a generation, man has entered the space age even before he has given up the stone coin and the bow and arrow. Science and technology are throwing economic and social systems into flux and traditional political forms are under increasingly severe strain. Over two billion people in Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Latin America are emerging from feudal and tribal systems in a great revolution of expectations. Every individual lags behind to a greater or lesser extent in his awareness, let alone understanding, of these changes.

Robert Welch, however, has had no doubts. He has traced everything but the expansion of the major leagues to an "international Communist conspiracy." In a complex world, such simplicity can have a powerful appeal.

To understand Welch and his appeal, it might be helpful to review what has been abundantly published in the press and in the Congressional Record on his writings, his organization and its impact.

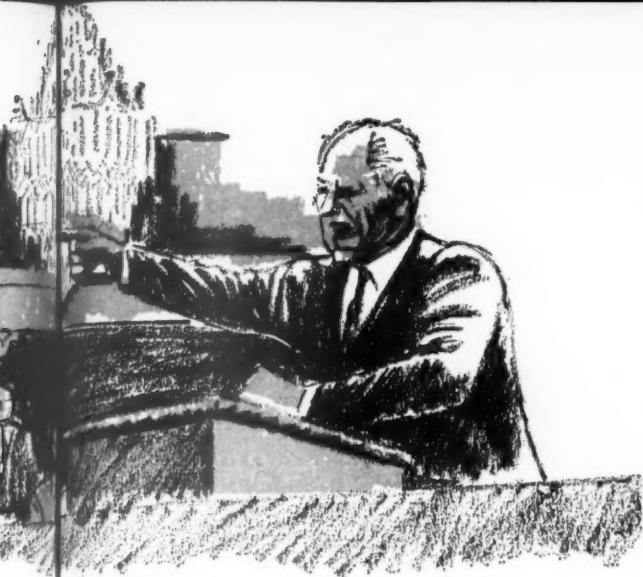
Welch, now 61, was born in North Carolina and raised in what he described as "the intellectually restricting bonds of the unusually narrow Southern Baptist Fundamentalism." He graduated from the University of North Carolina, spent a year at the Naval Academy and completed two years at Harvard Law School.

He joined a candy-making company headed by his brother, a firm with factories in Massachusetts and Los Angeles. He served as a vice-president and also put in seven years as a board member of the National Association of Manufacturers. Welch became so engrossed in the problem of communism and spent so much time away from the firm that, according to one writer, his brother made him choose: communism or candy.

Along about 1954, Welch was circulating to "intimate friends" a "letter" which eventually grew to

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302 pages and was entitled "The Politician." In it, he reviewed 40 Eisenhower appointments and saw a pattern in such appointees as Milton Eisenhower, John Foster Dulles, Martin P. Durkin, Allen W. Dulles, etc.

Welch made these statements in "The Politician," according to excerpts put in the Congressional Record: "In my opinion, the chances are very strong that Milton Eisenhower is actually Dwight Eisenhower's superior and boss within the Communist Party;" Presidential Adviser Maxwell E. Rabb followed Communist techniques "in master-minding the steal of the Republican nomination" from Robert A. Taft at Chicago in 1952; ". . . I personally believe (John Foster) Dulles to be a Communist agent who has had one clearly defined role to play; namely, always to say the right things and always to do the wrong ones."

In discussing then President Eisenhower, Welch wrote he believed "Eisenhower's motivation is more ideological than opportunistic." He said it was his "firm belief that Dwight Eisenhower is a dedicated, conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy. . . ." Asking how a man born in the American Midwest and a West Pointer could become a convert to communism, Welch traced the answer to an acquired "mentality of fanaticism." He said Eisenhower's mother was arrested in 1942 for taking part in a forbidden parade of Jehovah's Witnesses. But, he added, whereas most fanatics outspokenly promote their own cause regardless of personal cost, Communist converts practice "cunning deception." "Everything Eisenhower has done for the past 18 years can be fitted into the explanation based on that type of mentality," Welch wrote.

The Communists captured the Presidency in three stages, according to Welch. In the first stage, Franklin D. Roosevelt thought he was using the Communists but they were using him; in the second stage, Harry S. Truman was used by the Communists "as the price he consciously paid for their making him President.

In the third stage, in my own firm opinion, the Communists have one of their own actually in the presidency. For this third man, Eisenhower, there is only one possible word to describe his purposes and his actions. That word is 'treason.' "

Welch also wrote that the legislative branch had been brought into line and the U.S. Supreme Court was "strongly and almost completely under Communist influence. . . ."

Thus it was that in December of 1958 Welch called 11 "patriotic and public-spirited" men—they remain unnamed—to a meeting in Indianapolis. He gave them a two-day lecture on the "international Communist conspiracy." That document, known as the "Blue Book" of the John Birch Society, is the organization's guide to action.

Welch proposed the name of the organization to honor Captain John Birch, a missionary from Georgia who joined General Claire Chennault's forces in China in 1942. Birch was killed by Chinese Communists 10 days after V-J Day while on an intelligence mission in central China for the Office of Strategic Services. Welch called Birch "probably the first American casualty in that third world war between the Communists and the evershrinking 'free world.' "

Welch's version is not the only one. A Montana radio-television executive who was in the same OSS unit said the patrol ran into a force of Chinese Communists who were upset by "what seemed to them an unwarranted intrusion." "Captain Birch (who spoke Chinese) chose to bluff his way out of a difficult situation. Harsh words led to insults and insults to arrogance."

On leadership, Welch considered and rejected former Vice-President Richard M. Nixon and Goldwater, the latter because he doubted Goldwater could supply "the dynamic overall leadership needed to save this country. . . ." He then proposed himself not, he explained, for leadership qualities but because "it's just that I don't know where you, or all of us, are going to find anybody else to undertake the job."

On discipline, Welch told the founding meeting that those joining Birch chapters would do so ". . . because they believe in me and what I am doing and are willing to accept my leadership. . . . Those members who cease to feel the necessary degree of loyalty can either resign or will be put out."

On policymaking, Welch felt representative-type organizations lend themselves "too readily to infiltration, distortion and disruption." The Birch Society will operate "under complete authoritarian control," he added.

On structure, Welch advised small local chapters of 10 to 20 "dedicated patriots."

On membership, Welch aimed for 30,000 by the end of 1959 and a goal of one million who would fight with "evangelical fervor."

On finances, dues were to be \$24 a year for men; \$12 for women; \$1,000 for life memberships. Welch said he hoped to raise a million dollars from sources

other than dues in the first year—"and even that amount is an awfully small drop in the bucket against what either the direct Communist propagandists or the Reutherite labor bosses are spending against us."

On accounting, Welch said that "for reasons you will understand, there can be no accounting of funds."

On succession, Welch empowered his 26-member national council to name "a successor to myself as head . . . if and when an accident, 'suicide' or anything sufficiently fatal is arranged for me by the Communists—or I simply die in bed. . . ."

On internal communication, Welch has continued with his pre-Birch monthly bulletin, "American Opinion." Each year, he runs a chart in it showing how much of the world is Communist-controlled. He figures the United States has moved up from 20 to 40 percent Communist-controlled in 1958 to 30 to 50 percent in 1959 to 40 to 60 percent as of June 1, 1960.

On methods, Welch laid down a 10-point action program. It includes disseminating "Americanist" publications; boosting the readership of "American Opinion," "National Review," "Human Events" and the "Dan Smoot Report;" widening the radio audiences of Fulton Lewis, Jr. and Dean Clarence Manion; letter-writing campaigns and a variety of other activities.

The use of "fronts" should not be left to the Communists, Welch said; thus, Birchites were to create "fronts—little fronts, big fronts, temporary fronts, permanent fronts, all kinds of fronts." Examples: "With such fronts as 'A Petition to Impeach Earl Warren' . . . ; a 'Committee to Investigate Communist Influences at Vassar College' (headed by Vassar graduates, of course); and 'Women Against Labor Union Hoodlumism' (which would pick up the individual stories of husbands injured, cars wrecked, houses damaged, families terrified, in the strike at Kohler and others like it, tell those stories from the women's point of view and show the suffering they caused wives and mothers). . . ." The aim: "we can use the noise and turmoil to help wake up a lot of people. . . ."

How well has the John Birch Society fared since the Indianapolis founding two and a half years ago?

According to various press reports, the Birchites have members in all 50 states and chapters in some 35 states and the District of Columbia. A Birch leader—Paul H. Talbert, Los Angeles insurance executive—was reported as estimating the organization might have 100,000 members by the end of 1961. Welch's 26-member advisory council, according to the list inserted in the Congressional Record by Representative L. Mendel Rivers (D-S. C.), includes Cola G. Parker, William J. Grede—both past presidents of the National Association of Manufacturers—and other industrialists. It includes former ambassador Spruille Braden, former Internal Revenue Commissioner T. Coleman Andrews, now an insurance executive and Thomas J. Anderson, editor and publisher of the claimed 1.3 million circulation "Farm and Ranch."

It includes Colonel Laurence E. Bunker, former aide to General Douglas MacArthur and retired Lieutenant-General Charles B. Stone III, who succeeded Chennault in China.

It includes President Fred C. Koch of the Rock Island Oil and Refining Company of Wichita, described by Rivers as a "strong supporter . . . of right-to-work legislation."

The National Council for Industrial Peace, co-chaired by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and former Senator Herbert H. Lehman, has linked admitted Birchites to current efforts to enact or toughen so-called "right-to-work" laws. "Alliance of the two highly reactionary right-wing groups has been especially virulent in Indiana and Kansas," the Council leaders said.

Whether Welch and the Birchites are effective might be judged from a few publicized cases.

Columnist Eric Sevareid related his own experience. "On a street in Kansas, my host stopped his car to point to a new office building. 'He owns that and a lot else beside,' the host explained. 'He's got money and influence. He couldn't tell a Communist from Robert A. Taft, but he's trying to get his crackpots onto the school board and a lot of us are worried.'



"He' is the local boss of the John Birch Society. . . .

"They organize in task forces,' my host went on. 'They call schoolteachers and local college professors in the middle of the night and denounce them as Communists. They recruit kids as spies to take down classroom remarks of their teachers. They plant people in public lectures to ask loaded questions. They try to get their idiotic films and maps used in the high schools. Maybe it's hard these days to get a man smeared in Washington or even in Hollywood, but in a small city like this where people live awfully close together, it can still be done.'"

In Santa Barbara, California, where the Birch group reportedly has wealthy backing, Dr. Samuel B. Gould, chancellor of the University of California at Santa Barbara, struck back at a student group he charged was "being encouraged to be informers" against the faculty. Gould said he and other school officials had been "vilified in whispering campaigns, all purporting to prove that we are not only less than loyal to America, but are downright subversive."

Senator Gale W. McGee (D-Wyo.) had this to say in remarks on the Senate floor in late March: "I was in the city of Phoenix, Ariz., a week ago and found there a city torn badly within because of agi-

tations and whisperings stirred up in the name of the John Birch Society. Some of the agitation had to do with the location of a tennis court. Some of it had to do with books that were being adopted in the second and third grades in the public school system. But the burden of the charges was that there were Communists behind all these local community decisions. The weight that community was carrying was in the aura of fear that had been generated around it. I say that it is time for the searchlight of truth and the daylight of publicity to be brought to bear on the John Birch Society."

A New York Times reporter who covered a four-day Greater St. Louis School of Anti-Communism sponsored by the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade opened his story with these words: "A 'poor man's John Birch Society' has just completed a series of meetings here that has left many St. Louisans puzzled and vaguely troubled."

Who is the sparkplug behind the citywide meetings which have been held in Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Dallas and St. Louis? Dr. Fred C. Schwarz, national director of the Crusade, was described as "a crisp, energetic, self-confident Australian." Occupationally, he mixes the qualifications of physician, psychiatrist

DEFEND THE CONSTITUTION

IMPEACH EARL WARREN?

A DOCUMENTED RECORD
OF CHIEF JUSTICE
EARL WARREN'S
PRO-COMMUNIST RULINGS

DO YOU OWN PROPERTY?

URBAN RENEWAL

A SOCIALIST SCHEME
TO CONFISCATE
PRIVATE PROPERTY

HERE IS HOW:

THE INCOME TAX CAN BE REPEALED!

First Step:

GET THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT
OUT OF COMPETITION WITH
PRIVATE ENTERPRISE



McCarthy era ad (right) shows how anti-labor forces conceal real motive of restricting unions and exploit public's ignorance and fear.

and Baptist evangelist. The Times' story observed that "Dr. Schwarz arrived in this country in 1935 with, as he often says, only 10 dollars in his pocket but a great idea in his head. He has built his organization into an enterprise with an annual turnover in excess of \$380,000."

Dr. Schwarz had this to say to the Times' reporter on the issue of the Birch Society:

"There is always the temptation, in fighting communism, to try to form a totalitarian organization modeled on communism. Certainly these people—these dedicated anti-Communists—want a leader. They want to be led; they want me to lead them. But I won't do it. If Bob Welch wants to do it he can; he's got a program of action and a lot of ready resolutions. But it's not my business.

"You know, I sometimes get the notion he follows me around the country, signing up the people after I've worked them up."

Some insight into why people can be worked up might be gained by going back to the McCarthy era. Analyses of that period by leading historians and social scientists were gathered in a book entitled "The New American Right," edited by Daniel Bell, former labor editor of *Fortune* and now a Columbia University professor.

Historian Richard Hofstadter of Columbia saw the New Deal liberals, exhausted by victory rather than defeat, in the conservative position of defending their achievements. The new dynamic of dissent, he wrote, was coming from the right.

Hofstadter labeled this phenomenon "The Pseudo-Conservative Revolt," borrowing the term from an earlier landmark study of "The Authoritarian Personality" by Theodore W. Adorno and his associates. The data developed by the Adorno group led Adorno

STOP THE COMMUNISTS!

YOUR VOTE FOR AMENDMENT 106 WILL BE A PROTEST AGAINST THE COMMUNISTS.

HERE IS WHY:

• The Communist Party of Arizona has "joined hands" with the labor bosses. The "Home Front"—the official organ of the Communist Party in Arizona—is actively opposing Amendment 106 and in a special election issue urges all party members, fellow travelers and party sympathizers to fight the "Right to Work" Bill.

Your Vote For 106 Will Be
A Blow Against The Communists

VOTE YES 106 "Right To Work"

ARIZONA FARM FEDERATION
P.O. Box 2000, Phoenix, Arizona, Walter Kline, President
D. Morgan, Vice President, Frank Johnson

to write that the pseudo-conservative shows "conventionality and authoritarian submissiveness" in his conscious thinking and "violence, anarchic impulses and chaotic destructiveness in the unconscious sphere. . . . The pseudo-conservative is a man who, in the name of upholding traditional American values and institutions and defending them against more or less fictitious dangers, consciously or unconsciously aims at their abolition."

Hofstadter expressed the view that the pseudo-conservative impulse could be found in almost all classes, though its power rested largely on its appeal to the less educated among the middle classes. He also believed people in this frame of mind tended to be incoherent about politics.

Hofstadter believes the dissent from the right had reached such heights because, in a disordered world threatened by a powerful ideology, there have been enough espionage and security lapses "to give a touch of credibility to the melodramatics of the pseudo-conservative imagination." He sees pseudo-conservatism as "one of the long waves of twentieth-century American history."

Bell wrote that Americans throughout their history have had a great talent for compromise in politics and extremism in morality. The two characteristics were traditionally kept separate. Now, however, equating communism with sin is part of a tendency of converting politics into "moral" issues and so bringing extremism into political life, Bell argues.

A reenforcing tendency which has been divisive, Bell continues, is the treating of interest groups in the symbolic terms of "farmer," "business" or "labor" rather than as combinations of diverse elements. Bell feels the Communist problem—as a conspiracy—is something to be handled by law and that using the Communist issue as a political club and treating ques-

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tions of law as issues of morality strains a democratic society.

Professor Talcott Parsons of Harvard University theorized that the strains of the world situation have been superimposed on strains arising from internal changes in American society, producing "irrational" behavior. The solution, he argued, rests in accomplishing the social changes called for by domestic needs and our world position; McCarthyism simply showed the process has not been completed.

If, then, the strain of social change has been providing a response for Welch and the Birchites, a counter-reaction also has been setting in.

Last March 8, Senator Milton R. Young (R-N.D.) rose in the Senate to express concern over the "spreading influence" of the John Birch Society. "They have accused me," Young said, "of being about every kind of a scoundrel, including a Communist or pro-Communist." Young said Welch's accusations against the President and other leaders go "far beyond anything the late Senator Joe McCarthy ever thought of." Following Young's speech, Welch's writings and the Birchite activities were widely publicized.

Later it was brought out why Young came under fire from the Birchites in his home state. The four Birch chapters in Bismarck, N.D., had been pushing in the state legislature a proposed constitutional convention to act on an amendment which would abolish the federal income tax, liquidate 700 government agencies and restrict U.S. treaty-making powers. The proposal passed the lower chamber and Young telegraphed the state senate, urging its defeat. He pointed out it would mean the loss of the Garrison dam irrigation project in North Dakota. Young's opposition was proof enough for the Birchites.

Representative Henry S. Reuss (D-Wis.) on April 12 put into the Congressional Record a documentation of what he saw as "the seven deadly parallels between the Nazi movement and the John Birch Society." Reuss' analysis relied on Hitler's "Mein Kampf" and Welch's basic writings, "The Politician" and the "Blue Book."

The parallels, said Reuss, are these: "first, both detest the principles and institutions of democracy; second, both seek to destroy the established government, by fraud if possible, by force if necessary; third, both espouse the Fuehrerprinzip, whereby total control is exercised by the leader; fourth, both rely for their primary organization on a small elite corps of zealots; fifth, both use front organizations to augment their strength with persons interested in limited parts of their program but who could not swallow the whole thing; sixth, both draw significant support from wealthy industrialists who should know better; and seventh, both profess militant anti-communism, but they adopt with relish the dirty methods of the Communists."

Robert Welch and his band of Birchites have been much commented on in the past few months. They call themselves "Americanists;" they have been labeled

"The Agairsters." Attorney-General Robert F. Kennedy has called the Birch organization "ridiculous." Some legislators have called for a congressional investigation; others, like Representatives Edgar W. Hiestand (R-Calif.) and John H. Rousselot (R-Calif.), have disclosed their memberships.

President Kennedy—alluded to by Welch as "an amoral man (who) can do a tremendous amount of ballcarrying on behalf of the Communist aims here in the United States"—was asked at a press conference to comment on the Birchers.

"Well, I don't feel that their judgments are based on accurate information on the kinds of challenges that we face," the President replied. Kennedy expressed hope those concerned with the problem of communism would face the "real" problems "created by Laos, Vietnam, by internal subversion, by the desperate life lived by so many people in this hemisphere and so many other places which the Communists exploit."

Welch, confronted by reporters, has backed away a bit. His second thought on Eisenhower is that he doesn't believe his original charge enough to make it publicly; on Kennedy, he has removed the 1960 reference from the "Blue Book" and his judgment on the President is pending.

The potential destructiveness of the Birchites and their allies rests in their capacity to poison free and open discussion. Welch's supporters often say they may not agree with his methods, but they agree with his aims. This assumes he knows a Communist when he sees one, can offer evidence and can make distinctions in identifying communism. Does he? Can he? Welch admits he can make mistakes, but claims "a fairly sensitive and accurate nose. . . ." His "nose" tells him "the secret Communist looks and acts just like anybody else, only more so." A label he uses which removes doubts is "Comsymp." This, says Welch, is "a man who is either a Communist or a sympathizer with Communist purposes." The likelihood is that the closed reasoning of the Welches—the refusal to face reality, to admit verifiable contrary facts—will lead them to become their own gravediggers. Their fear of change and the direction in which their methods take them are more and more apparent.

Former Vice-President Nixon, in a letter to the Los Angeles Times during a furor over the Birch group, warned that "one of the most indelible lessons of human history is that those who adopt the doctrine that the end justifies the means inevitably find the means become the end." A Unitarian minister in California expressed the view that the Birch movement wields power in part because "both Mr. Welch and his people are genuinely afraid."

The debate is likely to continue, now more in the open and it will test the conviction of Justice Hugo Black, expressed in a similar context: "this country was not built by men who were afraid and it cannot be preserved by such men."

State Legislation— A Hodgepodge of Irresponsibility

by Robert Johnston

The legislative handling of labor relations policy sometimes reminds one of the story of a wise old father who was giving his young son some advice before the boy established his law practice in another city.

"Join all the clubs you can," the old man told him. "Get on all of the committees to raise funds and to carry out projects for public improvements. Get your name up as a do-gooder. That'll mark you as a man of ideas and vigor and great public spirit.

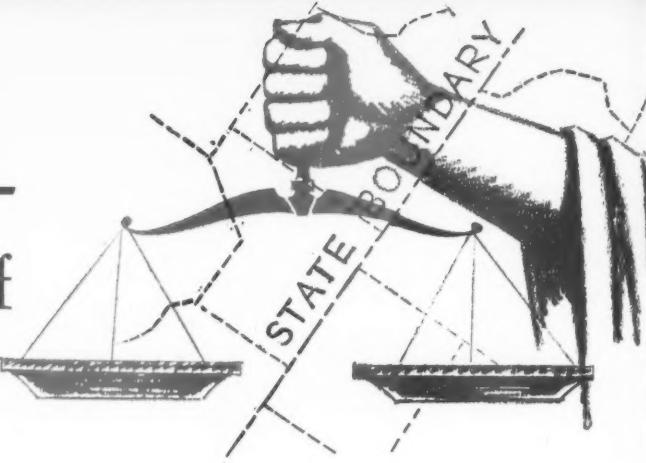
"And then, if you don't get your own way when it comes to doing the job, you can always tangle it up and block the action by arguing that it's the state's responsibility, or the federal government's, or better still, both of them. That'll stop everything."

The federal government has, not to my knowledge, ever moved into a legislative area solely for the sake of pre-empting authority. Where the states have done the job and done it right, their authority has not been disturbed. The job has been theirs. The federal government does not move into legislating on some subject until there is overwhelming pressures for such legislation; it doesn't send scouts out to find jobs and authority that it can grab off or pirate. It moves in response to public pressure, when the need is clear and present and when Congress can be convinced against a great amount of normal reluctance and indecision to take on the job.

A. A. Berle, a leading authority on the American corporate structure, has pointed out in a monograph on "Economic Power and The Free Society" that many corporations are bigger, more powerful and have bigger payrolls and budgets than whole groupings of states. He writes:

"Today approximately 50 percent of American manufacturing—that is everything other than financial and transportation—is held by about 150 corporations, reckoned, at least, by asset values. . . . If a rather large group is taken, the statistics would prob-

ROBERT JOHNSTON is director of the Illinois Department of Labor. This article is based on a talk before a conference on labor legislation held at Roosevelt University.



ably show that about two-thirds of the economically productive assets of the United States, excluding agriculture, are owned by a group of not more than 500 corporations. . . . Many of these corporations have budgets and some of them have payrolls which, with their customers, affect a greater number of people than most of the 90-odd sovereign countries of the world. . . . Some of these corporations are units which can be thought of only in somewhat the way we have heretofore thought of nations."

How far do you think the powerful state of Illinois could get in legislating a policy that would affect and guide the labor policies of the American Telephone and Telegraph, or the minimum wage policies of U.S. Steel? Do you think the GE price-riggers would ever have been punished under the state laws?

I think we have to face the hard facts that—regardless of state pride or the nostalgic emotions of certain political and economic parties—several things have occurred which make state action ineffective, somewhat ludicrous at times and impractical.

Corporations have grown across state lines; so have employment and employee representation. The Constitution is specific in delegating to the Congress the formulation of national policy affecting interstate and foreign commerce and this commerce clause has historically been invoked by interstate companies to defeat unwanted state regulation. Certain areas falling within the police powers of the states or affecting only intrastate commerce are reserved to the states.

Where everything is left to the states, you have a hodgepodge of patchwork regulations, coverages, standards, exemptions, qualifications and directions. The uneven, sometimes conflicting and competitive social-economic pattern of the states by its nature makes for a lack of uniformity in policy and administration of laws affecting labor relations.

If I wanted to set the all-time record for a filibuster, I would simply set down in detail the variations in state laws and regulations. Let me give a few examples. Illinois has no state minimum wage law; of the 17 states which have a statutory minimum wage, the rate ranges from \$1.50 down to 75 cents an hour and

the coverage is a patchwork; of the 12 states which provide for administrative wage orders, the wages are \$1 in seven states and below that in five. We recently succeeded in improving the Illinois unemployment compensation system; until then, we were far below 35 other states and there is still much improvement to be desired.

Let us take an example of the results of this patchwork, hodgepodge system, as it affects federal-state relationships.

Under the new minimum wage law, there will still be 900,000 Illinois workers not protected in non-agricultural industry; 870,000 not protected in non-manufacturing industry; 370,000 unprotected in retail trade; 384,000 still unprotected in the service trades. The fallacious argument that the states can and will do the job has produced exemptions that leave gaps in the minimum wage coverage that you could run an army of lobbyists through.

Let us take the case of a minimum wage for children in agricultural employment. Nine states, Puerto Rico and the District of Columbia have legislation covering employment outside of school hours and the allowable age ranges from 14 down to 10 years. Fifteen states allow employment during school hours and the age allowable ranges from 16 down to 12 years. How you can educate children by putting them to work in the fields at 10 years of age is something I haven't been able to fathom!

Of the 50 states, 13 have state labor relations acts. Only three cover agricultural workers. When you consider the fact that America is tending to the factory-sized, factory-operation farm—what can be called the Sears-Roebuck farmers—with workmen and their families hired seasonally, fired indiscriminately, paid low wages, refused the right of collective bargaining, exempted from minimum wages, it makes you think of the English coal miner in the time of Adam Smith. This is not economic justice or sound public policy; it is saber-toothed economics and nothing else.

What do you think makes for big welfare rolls, high relief costs, public hospital charges if it isn't such policies as these and discrimination in hiring?

Only Hawaii provides unemployment insurance for agricultural workers, but no group is more preyed upon by the seasonal hiring and firing policies.

Only 14 states have laws prohibiting discrimination in the employment of older workers; only 19 states have fair employment practices laws and if you left it to the Illinois manufacturers and the Illinois Association of Commerce there'd never be such laws in this state. I feel quite confident this gap in our public policy will be closed this year—after 14 years of the hardest and bitterest battles.

Let us look at the child labor-school attendance laws. All states have such laws—except Mississippi, South Carolina and Virginia which repealed their school attendance statutes.

Now, please note that over half the states permit the release of children from school-attendance requirements and their employment in industries and offices after the eighth grade in school, which means at 14 years.

We raise a great clatter and commotion about the necessity for more and better education and more scientists, mathematicians, physicists and what have you, and then we provide that children can quit school after they've barely learned the rudiments of reading, writing, a little arithmetic and some bit of history.

When the Taft-Hartley law provides for enactment of state so-called "right to work" laws, a whole group of southern states, with the aid and abettance of their labor departments, rush in to enact such statutes. Why? To undercut the organization of Negro and other exploited workers and to secure for their factories and businesses an unfair advantage by undercutting northern business.

Here in Illinois, we have had a 25-year deterioration of the southern 23 counties until they have become a thoroughly depressed area. But did the State Department of Labor—or the governors—or the legislature do anything constructive about it other than passing some very niggardly bills? They did not. It took the leadership of Senator Paul Douglas (D-Ill.) four years to pass the bill and then he had to wait for President Kennedy's election before the measure could get around a veto and become law.

What has been pointed out in regard to the patchwork hodgepodge of state law in child labor, school attendance, employment of the aged, child employment in agriculture, unemployment coverage of agricultural workers and state minimum wages is not all of the picture. It goes that way clear across the board—in regard to workmen's compensation, employment of women, factory inspection, safety rules, garnishment of workers' wages (Illinois has presently the most unjust garnishment laws imaginable and one of the worst of all the states), overtime pay, equal pay for equal work and many other matters of policy.

The laws are riddled with conflicting provisions, inequities, substandard requirements. These produce



a deadly effect in depressing our national standard of labor welfare. Business, as a simple matter of equalizing competitive advantages, of providing uniformity of operations and of saving untold amounts of taxes that are now wasted on unnecessary administration and relief charges produced by this patchwork system, ought to demand one uniform national policy.

State's rights are not being taken away, they are abandoned by the states, either directly or through such inaction as passes the point of public sufferance. Sometime back, President Eisenhower appointed a distinguished commission, headed by the late Meyer Kestnbaum of this city, to make a federal study and to "designate functions which the states are ready and willing to assume and finance that are now performed or financed wholly or in part by the federal government."

That commission labored mightily for two years. Do you know what it found? Just two programs, vocational education and federal grants for municipal waste treatment plants, that the states were ready, willing and able to take over!

The truth of the matter is that states are not so constituted as to legislate intelligently and effectively in the area of labor relations. Most of them lag back, hoping the federal government will take over a job they say ought to be left to themselves but which they won't do. America's labor pattern and industrial complexes have grown in conformity to the interstate commerce clause, not according to state lines. That's what makes us a nation instead of a confederation or association and the Constitution provides for it. Section Eight of Article One of the Constitution fixes the power of Congress and the first power it confers is to "lay and collect taxes" on a national basis; a few lines further it grants the power over commerce between states.

Why are the states so curiously ineffective in legislating uniform and acceptable standards of labor relations? Many factors undermine effective action at the state level. In this, the reference is primarily to establishing the standards, rather than administering them, because once the standard is satisfactorily fixed it is to be presumed the laws will be enforced.

Let me explain what is meant by factors operating against effective state action.

State legislatures are ponderously overweighted on the side of rural representation which demonstrates a peculiar narrowness in regard to urban labor-industrial relations in spite of the fact that ours has become an urban population. The state legislatures are not representative of the state population patterns, consequently they do not know, have little reason to know, what is really needed and to understand the complex facts of labor-industry relations.

State legislatures are a particular target of organized lobbies; they are smaller than Congress, close to home and much more prone to collapse under the well-organized, well-financed, well-directed pressures

of lobbies. It takes a pretty tough legislator to stand up to these home-district pressures.

State governors often are inclined to coast along, not proposing or fighting for controversial programs in the expectation that if they do not infuriate too many groups they will be a ripe candidate for the U.S. Senate at the end of two or four years, as the case may be. To the great credit of Governor Otto Kerner, it should be said right here that he has proposed liberal programs without fear or favor. Many other governors are not so forthright.

States are proverbially broke and so they never appropriate sufficient enforcement funds for the laws now on the books. The result is that enforcement and inspection services crawl along at a snail's pace. Inspectors are ill-paid, ill-educated and are too often ripe for favors in return for lax inspection. We are drastically revising upward our factory inspection system, conducting classes for the inspectors and doing everything possible to tighten up this service.

Because of the legislative patterns in the states, lobbies have been highly successful in jamming through restrictive bills that undermine effective regulation of labor-industry relations. If you don't believe it, look at the right-to-work laws, which actually mean right to bust the unions and exploit the employees.

The state departments of labor in far too many cases are perfectly willing to stumble along without taking any direct stand for progressive legislation and its firm enforcement. They use the excuse that they can't get bills through the legislature, they can't get funds for enforcement of the statutes now on the books, they can't get the personnel they need, the problem is too complex for state action, there's too much opposition, or it's after all a federal responsibility.

The inevitable result of these factors is that public pressure will demand national action to correct abuses and national action will be taken.

The working people of this country have two major protections against exploitation and discrimination. One is the union organization and union contract; the other is effective, sound, well-enforced, strongly administered law.

State departments should accept federal leadership in the establishment of standards. Only thus can chiseling be ended and a fair and equitable national pattern be established. This is true across-the-board on all programs, with due provision for relief in proven hardship cases. The states ought, in their wisdom, to be able to go higher than the national standards in their own laws, but not below them.

If the states face up to their part of the job—administrative responsibilities can be more and more shared with the states as labor relations law evolves. Making laws, administering laws, is a matter of political action which ought to be guided by economic realities and social and economic justice.



Investment With A Social Purpose

by Alexander Bookstaver

Real estate mortgages, secured by the underlying value of the pledged property and the credit standing of the borrower, long have been an important investment area for savings banks, savings and loan associations and, to a lesser extent, life insurance companies and commercial banks.

With the availability of government protection in the form of federal housing insurance and the Veterans Housing Administration guarantee—popularly known as FHA and VA insurance—there has been a great expansion in the availability of mortgages for investment. This increase in supply has been primarily absorbed by the types of lending institutions mentioned above.

These mortgages are excellent and desirable investments. They fulfill the social requirement of providing new and decent housing. They stimulate the national economy by increasing building activity, thus providing employment for building trades members and workers in other industries who provide the equipment, furnishings and appliances for today's new homes. At the same time they offer the quality of security required of prime investments.

Because of population growth and the requirements of many families now living in substandard or deteriorating housing units, there is a very great and continuing social need to provide new homes. A study of

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	Increase in Investments 1948 - 1958 in billions
Mortgages	\$111.
Corporate bonds and term loans	65.
State and local bonds	22.
Equity investments	14.
	\$212.

mortgage credit made by the Senate Housing Subcommittee in 1959 estimated that for the 10-year period of the 1960s, 16 million new non-farm, permanent units would be required for the 11 million households to be formed and to replace 5 million units expected to be eliminated from the existing supply. In addition, 1.8 million farm, seasonal and temporary units would be needed, making a total of 17.8 million new units of all types for the 10-year period.

The study further indicated there was no shortage of labor, material or land, but the availability of mortgage credit was of some concern.

It is necessary, therefore, to assure a future available supply of mortgage money at reasonable rates to finance these new dwelling units. In the past, the financing of mortgage loans has primarily been provided by banks, savings and loan associations and insurance companies. The primary source of money made available to these institutions derives from the normal flow of personal savings.

During the postwar years, in order to meet the financing demands for an expanded housing program and to improve the income return on their investments, these lending institutions switched from other investments, primarily low income yielding government bonds, to government protected mortgage loans.

From their expanding mortgage portfolios earning the higher rates of income return, these savings institutions are able to pay higher interest dividends to their depositors. This, in turn, has encouraged additional savings, which together with the government bond liquidations has provided additional funds for investment in mortgages.

These institutions must now rely on the growth of deposits to provide funds for new mortgage financing. The additional money for new and vigorous housing programs, however, probably cannot be met by the present flow of new savings. New sources of credit must be found to make the necessary funds available at reasonable interest rates.

Among some of the new sources are the new and rapidly growing funds—corporate pension, municipal and state retirement, jointly administered management and union retirement, union administered welfare and general trade union funds. Up to this time these new and rapidly growing funds, with few exceptions, have not had the experience or made the effort to determine if mortgage loans have a place in their investment programs.

Proportion of Resources in Mortgages 1958	
Savings & Loan Assn.	83%
Mutual Savings banks	62
Commercial banks	40*
Life Insurance Companies	35
State and Local retirement funds	3
Corporate pension funds	2

* Proportion of time deposits.

A major financial problem of many union administered funds has been to create and maintain reserves. Reserves of welfare funds are necessary to meet sudden rises in demand for various benefits; retirement fund reserves to meet current and future benefits for the life expectancy of each covered member; general fund reserves to provide for expanding services to members and for any unforeseen contingency.

The rapid growth of these reserves requires constant and alert vigilance by union officials performing their responsibilities as trustees of the various funds.

A major source of income, supplementing employer contributions to welfare and retirement plans and dues payments of members to general funds, has been the interest earned from the investment of reserves. Prompt investment of reserves helps to provide increased benefits to members.

The Executive Council of the AFL-CIO has recommended to its affiliates that they consider the advisability of investing a portion of their reserves in government protected mortgages. The basic idea of this suggestion is to put labor's funds to work in this socially desirable area and at the same time earn a more adequate rate of interest return than is presently earned on investments.

In addition to their social advantages, these federally protected mortgages are extremely desirable investments. They are legal for trustees of pension funds, mutual savings banks, savings and loan associations and other institutional investors. They enjoy the main investment characteristics of safety, liquidity and fixed income. Because of these advantageous features, they should deter the trustees of funds from engaging in speculative investment activities.

By reason of the dual protection of the underlying value of the pledged property and the credit of the individual borrower plus the added quality of federal protection—which is ultimately backed by the credit of the United States Treasury—they offer maximum security and safety of the principal sum invested.

Liquidity—the ability to convert an investment into cash quickly—is required for planned or unforeseen cash requirements or to lend a degree of flexibility to an investment program. Specific types of mortgages are available to meet the normal liquidity requirements of most funds. Those funds which have reserves available for investment for short periods of time should consider construction mortgages. These investments are generally for periods ranging from 6 to 24 months and will earn a higher rate of interest than is available from the short-term U. S. Treasury Bills or other types of short-term investments.

On longer term reserves, a portion may be invested in the short-term construction mortgage to give the fund a degree of flexibility. The balance available for investment should be placed in the long-term mortgage loans, which usually mature in 25 to 30 years. Since the adoption of the monthly mortgage payment feature, these investments have a normal degree of li-

quidity. Statistical studies indicate the average life is 12½ to 15 years per mortgage. This, in turn, indicates a cash repayment of the face amount of each mortgage of approximately 7 percent per year.

Unforeseen contingencies which necessitate the raising of immediate cash also may arise. A source of liquidity is provided in a specialized secondary market maintained by specialized mortgage brokers or in the availability of bank loans secured by the underlying mortgages.

Investors are interested in earning an adequate return of interest from their investments. The interest income of government protected mortgages, fixed for the entire life of the obligation, is higher than is available on prime corporation, government or other bonds. These mortgages show a greater degree of earnings stability as they are rarely refinanced to take advantage of the fluctuation of interest rates. During periods of declining interest rates, bonds of prime corporations are frequently refinanced and the investor loses the advantage of the higher interest on the bond that was originally purchased as an investment.

Investment in federally protected mortgages make it unnecessary for the manager or administrator of a fund to handle any of the details involving originating or servicing of mortgage loans. Such servicing is handled by a mortgage banker, under what is known as a single debit system. This eliminates the necessity for the investor to carry detailed records on each individual loan and involves payment to the investor of one check each month for all of the mortgage installments collected.

This system of servicing has been approved by supervisory agencies of the various banking systems, insurance companies, savings institutions and other mortgage investors. The detailed records of each loan are available for inspection and audit at the office of the servicing agent.

A network of many reliable mortgage bankers with qualified staffs operate throughout the country and are thoroughly familiar with the economic problems of their geographical regions.

Within the area of government protected mortgages, it is believed that part of the normal investment requirements of most funds can be met and at the same time provide additional income for services available to the participants or beneficiaries of the funds.

Increase in Mortgage Holdings 1946 - 1958
in billions

Savings and Loan Associations	\$ 40.2
Life Insurance Companies	30.5
Commercial banks	20.7
Mutual Savings banks	19.0
State & Local retirement funds	0.5
Corporate pension funds	0.4
Fire & Casualty Ins. Companies	0.1
Total	\$111.4

Work Rules: The on-the-job Realities

by Ben Fischer

There are two preliminary matters with which we must deal when confronted with the subject—"The Arbitration of Work Rules Issues." First, I do not think it useful here to deal with the techniques of arbitration. Each practitioner uses his own methods. Each contract and set of facts calls for its own approach. Each arbitrator and each relationship affects the procedures to be used. It is more useful to consider the underlying currents and influences which are involved in arbitration of what are called "work rules issues."

"Work rules" are specific contract provisions, found in a main or subsidiary agreement, which set forth the number of men to be used in an operation, the amount of work to be done, methods by which to perform work, specific rules concerning check-in, rest, eating periods, check-out and so forth and no provision for altering these rules. There are many such contracts. There are no special difficulties over their interpretation or application; there may be great difficulty if one party desires to change such contract clauses, as in the railroads, but this does not involve arbitration.

In most factory operations there are no such clauses in the main agreements and very few such clauses in supplementary or subsidiary agreements. In steel, even in the rare case where local written agreements exist as to some specific arrangement at a plant level, it is possible for management to revise the resulting practice if circumstances change—even though the union does not consent to such alteration. Arbitration can result—and the problem can be a knotty one for the arbitrator.

So we can see that the actual "work rules" issues rarely involve arbitration and do not present complicated arbitration problems. The difficulties arise under contracts which do not contain "work rules" at all but broad management latitudes which, when exercised, may lead to disputes, to arbitration and to the troublesome, difficult areas confronting arbitrators over and over again.

BEN FISCHER is director of arbitration for the Steel Workers. This article is excerpted from a paper presented before a national arbitration conference held at Duquesne University.

Work practices exist in every industrial establishment. In fact, practices which take on the character of rules governing or guiding conduct exist everywhere—in schools, churches, clubs, homes, sports, politics, offices, executive suites. There are ways of doing things—the accepted ways, the time-tested ways, the understood ways. We learn rules as children and in ever broadening areas as we mature.

When we enter a strange environment—a new school, a new industry, a new area, a new club, a new country—one of our first jobs is to learn the ropes, which is another way of saying, learn the general rules governing myriad details of human conduct. The factory is no exception. It has rules, customs, ways of doing things.

Lately, it has become popular in some circles for those not working in factories to advocate changing the factory customs. Lawyers want to disregard factory practices that seem erroneous to management experts—but they have a more kindly attitude toward rules governing the conduct of lawyers and courtrooms. Some college professors have objective critical notions about factory rules which they conclude interfere with something they call efficiency—but they are not generally quite so bold in evaluating university operations.

In short, the man whose home is run no more efficiently than the household members are willing to tolerate and whose non-factory occupation is governed by rules which involve lots of "waste" of time and motion is all too ready to use a cold, calculating, perfectionist standard in judging the way factory workers function.

It might be good therapy to face up to this inconsistency; perhaps it arises from a bit of class snobbery, an unconscious belief that somehow the factory worker is not quite as good or as important in human terms as a manager, a professional, a businessman, an educator.

A union leader tells a story about a personal experience during the 1959 steel strike. On a plane one day his neighbor recognized him and proceeded to complain about "featherbedding" in the steel industry. My colleague proceeded to pose some personal questions. It was revealed the man was in his fifties, his family had expressed concern over his health; he was examined; his doctor was worried about his heart at his advancing age and insisted on a more careful regimen. As a result, a strict office rule was instituted—after lunch every day the man napped, not to be disturbed. Then the gentleman was taken aback by his union companion who posed a question—and I quote only generally of course:

"Do you think a steelworker of your age whose dear ones worry about his health and whose doctor suggests a more careful regimen should have a quiet place in the mill to nap after lunch every day? Or is he less important to his wife and children than you are to yours? And mind you, this kind of work practice we do not ask of the industry; we merely want

to hold on to a few modest working conditions, such as a coffee break or a spell period on a tough or disagreeable job."

The business man was impressed because my colleague had broken through his unconscious class snobbery and revealed a steelworker in the flesh, not a statistic in the company's annual report to stockholders.

These philosophical questions are at the heart of the arbitration of the so-called "work rule" issue because the arbitrator is not an IBM machine; he is the result of ideas, background, impressions, propaganda, prejudices—as we all are.

This came home to me some years ago in an arbitration case in U. S. Steel. The arbitrator was a distinguished law professor, a respected arbitrator, highly recommended. He refused to restore a man to a crew even though he admitted the crew reduction was a violation of the contract. His reason: it would be against the public interest to have a man on a job in the face of engineering evidence that the work could be done by the remaining employes. We have come to a sorry pass when the public interest and the smallest possible crew are equated as the same thing!

The public climate and the philosophical background of the arbitrator are important considerations in work rules arbitration, more important than how the case is presented or even the wording of the agreement. It is not that an arbitrator is likely to ignore the agreement, but he may be tempted to rationalize the conclusion he likes to reach quite independently of the agreement, just as a judge might do in relation to the law.

The effort to prejudice the public—and the arbitration fraternity—on the so-called "work rule" issue has been gigantic. The amounts spent in this drive by industry are no longer in seven figures but eight and perhaps even nine. Every pressure in the journalistic world and the academic world has been exerted. And it has had some success. After all, if you throw enough mud, some of it is bound to stick.

The thesis about "work rules" is strangely selective. We are told that every wasted motion by a plant worker is sinful and every idle moment a worker enjoys threatens the national security and the balance of payments. But fantastic layers of useless supervisory and executive personnel are not questioned.

My point is not that there is mutual guilt; in fact, the loose practices of the union men are negligible and doomed but the growing pack of non-union, non-producers (all figured in as labor cost) is rolling merrily along with no signs of abatement.

Every plant has working conditions and these are often in dispute. Whether there is a specific clause protecting them or not, workers protest if desirable conditions are removed or if desirable conditions are asked for and refused. If the union thinks it has a case worthy of arbitration and proceeds accordingly, then the arbitrator has the problem to decide.

The fact is there are no rules or regulations which govern arbitration of working conditions or "work rules." Arbitration and the arbitrator are creatures of the parties. This is no idle phrase. If the parties don't accept the arbitrator's views, they no longer make him their creature. A collective bargaining relationship may command public interest, but essentially it belongs to the parties and represents a synthesis of many complex pressures and interests.

If there is one generalization about working conditions in factory life that can be made, it is the right of management to effectuate changes and eliminations of practices and jobs whenever there is technological elimination of duties or removal of onerous conditions. There are differences in degree; there are differences in arbitrators and in contract terms; there are differences in unions and management attitudes. But the general rule we have set out here is just about universal.

Despite management's wide latitude, there is a great furor about work practices. Why?

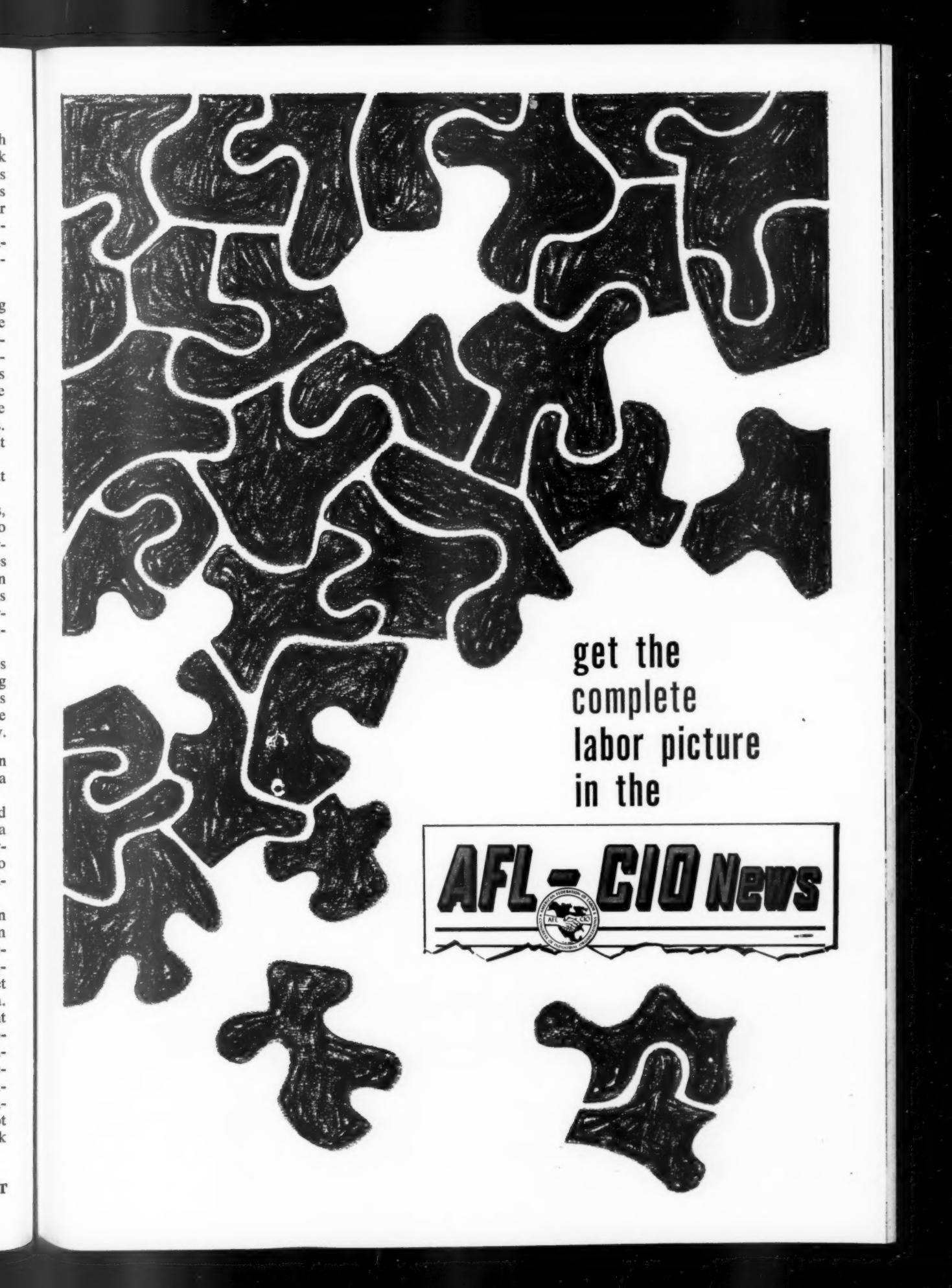
Because some in management want no restrictions, no limits, no possible grievances—and in fact no effective union opposition to any management determinations. Or, in short, these management forces want a company union. This is not a cuss word, an attack on anyone's sincerity or an exaggeration. It is a considered conclusion, based on a sober characterization of the kind of union operation some management spokesmen visualize.

I say some because quite a number know this is not truly workable. There is a sincere belief among a good many management people that the checks and balances of effective bargaining relationships are wholesome and even necessary for long-run efficiency.

What we have reviewed may appear to be an unhappy situation. But is it really unhappy from a mature viewpoint?

Perhaps not—no unhappier than the tugging and conflict of the home, the church, the political arena or any other human institution. The peace and harmony we all yearn for is not fully attainable. We do the best we can, knowing that limitations prevent attainment of utopia.

America's labor problem is not "wasteful" union practices in our great factory operations; the problem is finding work for our people and developing adequate protections in the face of widespread labor displacements. Labor-management relations should get down from space—the area of ceaseless propaganda. The practical men who make up factory management and union leaderships can handle the day-to-day problems, if given a chance to do so. The more far-reaching problems of unemployment, idle capacity, inadequate growth and pockets of poverty require the common attention of the nation's top leadership—government, labor, industrial and intellectual. They will not be resolved in the context of disputes over "work rules."

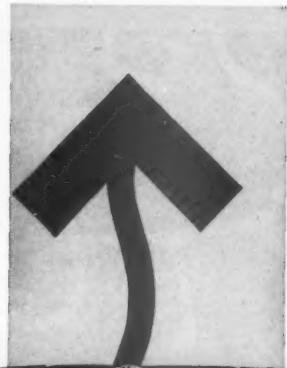


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